1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 *Type 4.* This is called Zenatan, and is characteristic of the Beni Znassen. In the Rif it is employed in Kebdana and Beni Bu Yafer. It has likewise been used in Targuist in recent years as a partial imitation of the central Riffian technique. In Targuist its identity with the Zenatan type is purely a coincidence.

Type 5. The single cross on the left side of the nose is employed by men in the same area as that covered by the occurrence of Type 3 among women, but extends its distribution farther than the corresponding female decoration. It is found in Khebaba and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya, sometimes in Shawia of the same tribe, in Mazuza, Ait Shisher, and Kebdana. Throughout this area it is optional, except in Khebaba, where all the men use it.

Type 6. This is the modern rendering of Type 2, the modification being in the use of a cross instead of a hatched line on the forehead. Type 6 has come in during the present generation, totally displacing its predecessor, but losing ground in Galiya, where it is gradually being replaced by Type 3.

Where the tattooing on the face is of Type 1, 3, or 4, the rest of the body remains without permanent decoration; but where the facial tattooing is of Type 2 or 6, that is of central Riffian pattern, the body is likewise tattooed. Number 7 shows the design on the abdomen, thorax, and neck, number 8 on the legs, — a stripe up each side and a cross over the ankle, — and number 9 on the forearm. As a variant of number 9, and considered very stylish, are forked antennae coming off the corners of both the distal and proximal terminal bars. The tattooing on the neck reaches up to the chin, where it joins with the tattooing of the face in one continuous design reaching from the center of the lower lip almost to the navel. Care is taken in tattooing the upper of the two hatched single lines just below the breasts not to have the design encroach upon the actual skin of the breasts.

USE OF HENNA

● 302 Henna, that universal cosmetic stain, is used throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, as well as by all other peoples of Morocco. On each day of the wedding feast, the bride thrusts both hands and both feet up to the wrists and ankles into a bowl of stewed henna leaves. The groom similarly stains his hands, but not his feet. The Riffians make no geometric lines with this henna, as do the Arabs and Atlas Jews, but simply daub it on until the whole extremity is colored a consistent reddish-brown.

It is said that in the Rif henna was not used in former times, but that apple leaves and green walnut shells were employed in place of the henna leaves, which even today are entirely imported, the chief source of supply being the tribe of Dukkala, on the Atlantic seaboard of French Morocco.

[[71]] Although henna is today distributed throughout North Africa, the presence of this definite tradition would indicate that its diffusion into the Rif took place in fairly recent times, and that in the remoter sections its use was preceded by an imitative employment of other materials.

626 Another use of henna distinct from all ideas of beautification is as follows: when a man has shown himself cowardly in war, the women of the village seize him, rip off his shirt, and smear his back with the stain.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

USE OF KOHL

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Kohl, called *thasutch*, is produced locally, and not imported. Pedlars and women find it in lumps in deposits. It is used in powdered form by women to brighten their eyes and darken the lids and lashes. Although the women apply it to their eyes whenever they wish to look particularly attractive, its use is, nevertheless, chiefly confined to and associated with weddings. Before the bride is brought to her husband's house she is treated to an application of kohl. Kohl is used by women, especially in weddings, in all tribes and regions under consideration with the following exceptions: Mountain Urriaghel, Ikhuanen except Tainest, Iherrushen except Telmest, Temjunt, and Beni Amart.

In certain regions kohl is likewise applied to the eyes of the groom, on the occasion of the final night of his wedding. This is done in the Senhaja, the Ghomara, Targuist, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Shawia.

Besides henna and kohl, rouge made of local products is used by women dancing at weddings. It is applied to the lips.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

use them when in the presence of Arabs, lest the purpose of these names be misunderstood, for the Arabs would think that a man bearing his mother's name was illegitimate, and would ridicule him. For this reason the use of matronyms will probably soon die out.

Besides regular names, certain titles are in use. *Si* is prefixed to a man's name if he be a preceptor, schoolmaster, or clerk, or even a student proficient in reading and writing. *Sidi* is applied only to a reputed descendant of the prophet. The equivalent title *Mulai* is not known in the Rif, but is in use in the Senhaja Sghir, especially in Taghzuth, where a large part of the population, justly or otherwise, claims Sherifian blood.

THE FIRST HAIRCUT

The next event of importance in the life of the child is its first haircut. In the central tribes and the Senhaja it occurs after the expiration of a year; among the others, after six months. The former is the case in Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Gzennaya, and all the Senhaja.

On the day decided on for the first haircut, the father takes a goat to the cantonal mosque and gives it to the students, who sacrifice and eat it. One of the students returns with the father and shaves the child's head, leaving a single lock standing out on the occiput. With some of the hair he makes a necklace, which is tied around the child's neck; the rest he takes out with him and buries secretly. After this the father and mother and immediate family, generally the entire *vein*, hold a small feast.

The scalp lock which the student has left is kept uncut until the death of the individual, and after that event is used by the students washing the body as a convenient handle wherewith to turn the corpse without touching the flesh. The origin of the Berber scalp lock is lost in antiquity, since it is one of the earliest features of Berber culture to be recorded in history.[1]

The position of the lock on the occiput differs among the tribes, there being three places where it may be left; the right occiput, the left occiput, and the center of the occiput, just below lambda. The lock when worn on the left is called *thazhtoshth*, when on the right *thai'iyeshth*, when in the middle *themzurth*.

Distribution of the left scalp lock: Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Shawia, Jebarna. It is also worn by the Ulad Stut, Beni Ukil, the Arabs of Msun, and the Beni Znassen. It is called the Zenatan type.

Distribution of the right scalp lock: Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, rest of Gzennaya, some in Tafersit, Targuist, Western and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Hamid. This is called the Senhajan type, and is worn by the Beni Zerwal, the Mtiwa dial Jbil, and by what few individuals of the Ghomara occasionally leave this lock. It is likewise worn by certain families of Fezzis, and by all of the Braber, who claim Senhajan origin.

Distribution of the median scalp lock: Beni Urriaghel,[2] Beni Amart, Bokoya, Maritimes, Zarket, Beni Beshir, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Shibet, and Beni Mesduy.

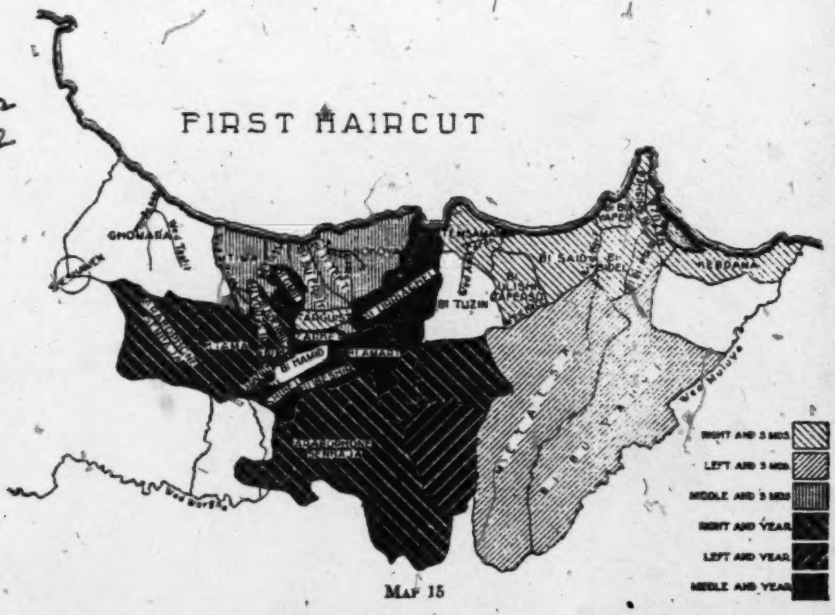
[1] Bates, pp. 134–137.

[2] Westermarck (p. 413) states that the Beni Urriaghel wear the lock on the *right* side, and that this lock is called *imzirj*. I have never seen an Urriaghli with his scalp lock anywhere but in the middle of his occiput; and the word which Westermarck uses to denote the right lock is really the name of the median lock.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Tribes which shave the head: Beni Tuzin, some in Targuist, and most of those in the Ghomara.

In most of Morocco, the scalp lock is worn by the boys up until puberty or marriage, when it is removed and the head shaved thereafter. In the Rif and Senhaja it is worn not only by boys but by grown men. In Beni Tuzin, and among most of the families of Targuist



MAP 15

and the Ghomara, the head is shaved at the time of the first haircut, and kept shaved thereafter. In Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Iherrushen and Ikhuanen the men shave their faces; in other regions beards are usually worn.

By decree of Abd el Krim, who perhaps wanted to make his followers appear more civilized, the scalp lock was ordered removed in 1924. All Riffians and Senhajans within reach of Abd el Krim's punishing arm shaved them off, for the most part with considerable reluctance, with the exception of the exiled Riffians living in Fez and other places, who retained them. After Abd el Krim's surrender in 1926, many of the Riffians let them grow again, and now wear long scalp locks as before; others let their hair grow in the European style, and still others continue shaving their heads.

The Berber scalp lock dates back to Libyan antiquity; representations of it are frequent on Egyptian monuments.[1] A median occipital lock is also worn today in Northern Albania.

[1] O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 133-137.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

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counsellors. The bride similarly chooses a group of *thiuziren* from among her friends to act as companions. The period between the betrothal and the marriage is considered full of shame and of supernatural dangers for the participants. Consequently they have to be well guarded, and their *iuziren* and *thiuziren* go about with them whenever they leave their respective houses, which they do as little as possible. When the groom goes out he must keep the hood of his jellaba up, and the bride must keep her head covered. If either of them wears *iherkusen*, or leather slippers, he or she must keep the counters, which are ordinarily bent under the heel, up behind it.

This custom of choosing *iuziren* and *thiuziren* is confined to the central Riffian area and the contiguous regions. In outlying areas one finds regions in which but one, two, or three *iuziren* are chosen, with no *thiuziren*, and others in which no companions at all are chosen. The *iuziren* are several in number in Beni Urriaghel, the portion of Temsaman contiguous with Beni Urriaghel, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Beni Ulid, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Burda. They are limited to a few in Beni Tuzin, western Metalsa, Beni Mohammed, Beni Yunes, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Inhanahan, Zarket, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath. Of these Beni Tuzin have two or three, and the others usually but one. In small *bones* in regions where many are chosen, all the unmarried boys and girls between fifteen and seventeen years of age or thereabouts serve as *iuziren* and *thiuziren*.

The actual duration of the wedding also varies regionally. In the central Riffian area and among the Nomads, a feast is held for seven consecutive nights (in Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Mohammed, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, Beni Bu Shibet, Taghsuth, Ktama, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara). In the rest of the territories three nights is the normal duration.

In the seven-night areas, except among the Nomads, food is provided nightly for all the guests; in the three-night areas and among the Nomads, food is provided on the last night only (except in the tribes of Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath, where food is provided every night). These latter tribes seem to have lost the seven-day tradition while retaining that of continuous hospitality. In any case, food, whether provided on all nights or one, is to be had in both the house of the bride and that of the groom. The groom is supposed to pay for all of it in both houses. Often, however, he is unable to do so, and borrows the money from a member of his family, with the agreement that he shall provide a similar feast on the occasions of the loaner's marriage or shall pay him back when he has earned the money.

During all seven, or three, days of the wedding the bride is closely secluded in her house, and the groom seldom leaves his. Each have their companions with them all the time. In regions where there are no *thiuziren*, the women of the immedate family stay with the bride.

Among the nomads of the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, the groom, contrary to the usual practice, sleeps in the tent of his parents-in-law all seven nights of the pre-nuptial period. On the last day he returns to his own tent and makes ready for the bride to be brought to him in the evening. This custom forms a common subject of ridicule among the sedentary tribes.

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On the first day of the feast the women apply kohl to the bride's eyes and henna to her hands. They first boil a pot of henna, allow it to cool, and place it in a shallow earthen bowl.

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In this they put two cracked eggs. They put a veil over the bride's head and face, and hang strings of silver coins between her fingers. The bride's hands are then thrust into the bowl of henna, and smeared up to the wrist. No attempt is made at forming a pattern. The feet are likewise painted with henna up to the ankles. The women in charge smear the henna on their own hands in order to partake of the magical potency of the bride and of the concoction.

At the same time the hands of the groom are stained with henna. This use of henna is repeated daily in both houses until the feast is over. Neither the bride nor groom is allowed to wash during this period.

Kohl is also applied to the bride's eyes during the feast days, in all regions excepting the central mountain area. It is put on the groom's eyes in the Senhaja and Ghomara and in the east. Kohl is used upon brides throughout the Rif except among the mountain Urriaghlis, Ikbuanen except Tainest, Iherrushen except Telmest, Temjunt, and Beni Amart. It is used upon grooms in all Senhaja, all Ghomara, Targuist, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Shawia.

On the first day of the feast, when those in charge of the henna convene, a white flag is set up on the roof of each of the houses.

In the regions which have seven-day feasts at both houses, the last three days are subject to definite food regulation, but on the first four any suitable dish such as *sekru* and *guaz* [1] may be served. On the fifth day a *thamarik* of beans cooked with oil and cut-up peppers is served with bread, and no other food may be cooked or consumed in the two houses on that day. On the sixth day, early in the morning, more bean *thamarik* is eaten and then the men slaughter a goat, the meat of which they give the women to cook in the house of the groom. These same men, members of the groom's family, then lead another goat to the bride's house and do the same.

On the seventh day honey is given to the guests early in the morning, and then a hearty meat dish, usually a *guaz*. After this has been eaten the guests bring their presents, consisting of cattle, goats, meat, bread, butter, honey, and other foodstuffs. Bread alone is never presented.

Each morning during the seven-day period two companies of four *iuziren* each come to the groom's house and waken him by chanting, each four alternately, the following quatrain:

Sabḥain er-raṣḳ
Sabḥain el-khalaiḳ
Sabḥain er-ruwâḳ
El ardh el-khalaiḳ.[2]

[1] See p. 59.

[2] The classical form of this would be:

Sabḥân er-râziḳ	Praise to the Provider (Giver of Bread)
Sabḥân el-khâliḳ	Praise to the Creator
Sabḥân er-ruwâḳ	Praise to the Tent (Canopy, Heavens)
El ardh el-khâliḳ	The Earth is the Creator.

The Arabic words are little changed from their classical form; they do not occur in the Koran, and I have been unable to trace their origin.

The idea seems to be that the sky fertilizes the earth, which produces life and food. Such a principle may be a survival of a pre-Islamic belief, with the formula translated into classical Arabic to give it greater ritualistic value; or it may be the last vestige of an obscure heresy, such as that of Hamim (El Bekri, pp. 197 *sqq.*). Discussion of this troublesome question is earnestly solicited.

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778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
302 women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab. khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
[171] black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably come from the East.

778 [114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
823 there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [Igliwa], tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager], tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned therein its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[176] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[177] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is only known to God. An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world, though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are directly said to have baraka.

784 People refrain from washing themselves with such water,[1] since
776 there may be jnun in it or jnun may have made water in it (Ait
515 Waryager, Andjra); and bathing after asar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day.
It is said, Men hajama ba d l- asri au ama au nama qalil s-salama, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after asar comes little health".
A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after dhor, jnun will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (butallis or [307] budaddis); and if he has his head
[302] shaved after asar, he will have a headache. Shaving after asar, or at least between asar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided.
In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (suratu l-ihlas) before cross-
[513] ing. In Dukkala I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after asar, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the bismillah.

784 To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most
372 dangerous after asar. To carry ashes after asar is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Waryager) the carrying of fire from one house to another.

776 [307] It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves
789 and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the jnun generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The jnun are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms, and from dead persons before they are buried.

The jnun abhor salt, especailly rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by jnun, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of

[1] [i.e. Water kept indoors overnight. – Analyst]

796 Great Feast", and the Berber-speaking tribes by names such as l'id mqqorn (Amanuz), l'id amqqran (Ait Warain), l'id amqqoran (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), or r'id amqqran (Temsaman), meaning the same. In this case, as in the case of the 'asur, the mulud, and the 'id s-sger, the name of the feast is popularly given to the whole month in which it is celebrated.

796 [107] An important preparation for the feast is the use of henna,
302 which I have found among all the country people of whose customs I
789 have obtained information, with the exception of the Rifians of Temsaman; and, as has been said above, henna is used not merely as a cosmetic but as a means of protection against evil influences.

Grown-up or married men abstain from it altogether (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Sadden, Aglu), or only smear it on the palms of their hands or the tips of their fingers (At Ubahti), or dip the little finger of their right hand (Dukkala) or its nail (Ait Waryager) into it.

796 [108] Greyhounds have henna applied to their foreheads (Ait Yusi),
[231] or to their chests and feet as well (Hiaina, Ait Sadden); while the Ait Waryager, who are great hunters, smear it on the feet of the greyhounds only, and on no other animal, on account of its being scarce among them.

[110] Among the same tribe nobody is allowed to make seksu, their staple food, on the eve of the feast; and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager abstain on that evening, and as long as the feast lasts, both from this food and from their ordinary daily dish damreqt, a kind of porridge made of dried beans.

[112] Among the Ait Waryager the men have a common meal in the village mosque not only on the first morning of the feast but on the previous morning as well; and on this occasion the women take their breakfast in the cemetery of the village.

796 [116] Like the people, the sacrificial animal is commonly sub-
783 jected to certain forms of purification or sanctification.

[117] The At Ubahti put into the animal's mouth barley, salt, and a piece of charcoal; the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman some yeast. The main object of the corn, flour, yeast, and henna is no doubt to purify or sanctify the victim, and that of the salt and charcoal to drive away evil spirits. But it appears from the words which are said on this occasion that the food given to the animal is also supposed directly to benefit the people; and an old man from the Hiaina told me that it takes away the bas from the house.

551 As the first son is called after the Prophet, so the first daughter is called after his daughter Fatimah, the wife of 'Ali and the mother of al-Hasan and al-Husain, from whom are descended the posterity of the Prophet known as Saiyids. Her name—which is in Morocco pronounced Fatuma, Fatma, Fatma, Fatna, or (by some Berbers) Fadma—is generally given to the eldest daughter, even though it be the name of the mother, which is otherwise avoided; but among the Ait Waryager the daughter is in such a case called Fattos.

[407] In Berber tribes Arabic names given to children are altered in ordinary conversation. Muhammed is changed into Muhand (Ait Yusi), Mohand (Ait Sadden), Mohand (Ait Waryager, in the case of a scribe or a man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca), Momoh (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), Mahha (Ait Sadden), Moha (ibid.), or Moh (Ait Waryager).

●302 [408] At Fez no child of either sex must be shaved until it is one year of age; while among the Ait Waryager a boy is shaved a year after his birth and a girl never.

[409] Some hair, however, is always left on the head, in accordance with the custom of the family. In all families it is the custom to leave an 'orf, consisting of a narrow line from front to back, but in some families a garn, or tuft, is in addition left on the right side, and in others a garn on the left side as well.

[753] [414] It is believed that if the shaving of a person's head is left unfinished, because the razor is not sharp enough or for some other reason, his head will be affected (Ulad Bu'aziz) or he will become ill in one way or another (Ait Waryager).

[415] In Morocco there is a belief that if it is the custom of a family to leave a garn on the head of a child, the latter will become ill and most probably die if this custom is not observed. The Ait Warain and the Ait Sadden maintain that the same will happen to a boy if the garn left on his head is ever shaved. The Ait Waryager say that if it is shaved before the death of his parents, either the father, the mother, or the boy will die.

852 304 [416] The next important event in the life of a boy is his circumcision. The age at which it takes place varies greatly.

[417] I was told that among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager boys are as a rule circumcised when they are about one year old, but that there are instances of boys being circumcised a few months after their birth. This is the earliest age I have heard of anywhere in Morocco.

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443 563 considered the social inferiors of the Wuryāghlīs and are entirely endogamous they do not form a separate economic caste, as they go in for little or no economic specialization other than that just mentioned. In a stall on one side of the market a weaver *(darrāz)* 443 is working on a woolen *jillāb* on a horizontal loom; another stall [284] houses two Berber-speaking Moroccan Jews, one of who hammers out silver bracelets and the other repairs packsaddles. In a nearby cafe sit a group of men who are loudly and appreciatively gulping down glasses of piping hot mint tea, while in the background is the blare of Arabic music or news broadcasted from Tetuan, Tangier, Rabat or Cairo. Needless to say, in Aith Wuryāghil very few people can understand the news programs, although very recently broadcasts in Shilḥa, coming from Tetuan, have been implemented. In another [302] corner the barber-bleeders (*ḥajjāmīn*) shave the dolichocephalic and sometimes favus-ridden crania of their patrons with unsterilized straight razors. And over all watches the market provost or *amīn*, who supervises the collection of the market tax and sees to it that the market is run smoothly and efficiently.

It is of interest to note that Aith Wuryāghil is the center of a uniquely Riffian institution: the women's market (20). This institution is not only Riffian but Central Riffian in distribution. Aside from Aith Wuryāghil, Tamsamān is the only other tribe possessing women's markets; it has two of them, one Tuesday at Suwānī of Tamsamān, just across the Nakūr River from Aith Wuryāghil, and the other on Sunday. In Aith Wuryāghil itself there are six: Sunday at Iswīqen, Monday at Isrīhen, Monday at Azghar, near Ajdīr, Friday at Aghrīdh, Friday at Ighmīren (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and Saturday at Aith Qamra.

The people of Aith Wuryāghil belive that these markets were established as the result of the endless intratribal wars, because, since women were noncombatants and were protected as such by the institution of *'anāya*, an interchange of commodities necessary for the survival of the feuding groups could only be carried on without hindrance in markets attended exclusively by members of the female sex. I have heard that the first women's market to be established was

(20) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: «Zocos de mujeres en Beni Uriaguel», Africa, Madrid. Mayo 1943, pp. 22-23.

798 764 2) Funeral Rites Contrary to Sunna: the funeral chant invoking the name of God which is started up when the body is lifted up to be taken to the cemetery (and this is done in the Rif) is rejected as bad (sic). A man should not place himself facing Mecca during the funeral prayer (at the grave) (sic); nor should the body be oriented in this direction (sic) nor should its shroud be pierced (in the Rif, in Ibuqquyen, a hold is pierced in the nose of the shroud), nor can a stick be nailed perpendicularly to the grave (this is done in the Rif[20]); and the catching...in the act by someone of the body being buried or of the recitation of the hizb[21] of the Koran is like lighting the three lights in agony.[22]

798 [302] [562] [794] [769] 3) Deceits and Frauds in the 'Aid: men should not put henna on their hands and should not shake hands with women, as this is sinful. Getting meals in the mosque is very bad, as are petitions (of gifts) to the imam[23] after the prayer of the 'Aid; and visiting the cemetery on feast days is also bad, as these are days of happiness[23a]. (In the Rif all these practices are observed[24]).

798 585 4) Weddings: It is very bad to mark the doors of the house of either the bride or the groom with blood (this is done in the Rif[25]), and so is firing rifle shots in the bride's room on the day that the marriage is consummated[26]; so is touching the bride's clothing, or helping her mount the mule which is to take her to the groom's house, or helping her alight on arrival, or mounting the same animal behind her; and equally bad is someone showing up at the moment of union of the newly married couple or staying so near to them that he can hear them talking. Also, men playing in front of women and women dancing in

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grana has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio [302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grama).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.